"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.)[1]. A pair of brass armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Būguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end. The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs (*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh, Hoh*.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mâv*, father-in-law,* which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondance, elicited the following noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had paid annually a light pasture tax for about 190 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirâi fanams*‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pithkali*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 sayes nearly.
‡ *Kantirâi fanam* = 0r. 4a. 8p. of present money.

1 [Plate 5A -- Analyst]

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

193
551 §9. The frequent suffix -kũuṭn has defied analysis. Rivers[8] thought that it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in puṭʃofxũuṭn (a son of *sirjuɪr* 20) <puṭʃof, a mountain near the mund toɪroɪr, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in tuɪpuɪsxũuṭn (20; referred in §6) <tuɪpuɪsforũ, the kogfoj dairy at toɪroɪr; kæmxũuṭn, son of toɪliʀ̃j and nertnuɪs (24, Tòleidi and Nertiners) <kæmoʃf, the ũuɪsoj dairy at the mund *korkos*. A son of kũoɪom of the puɪrgoɪroʃ (34, Kwodron) is named aɪsojxũuṭn <aɪsojuɪr, the buffaloes of the tɨ of this sib. kõɪkiɪsjxũuṭn (20, Kekarikutan, which represents the Toda form of the [177] Badaga name of another man kekæɪrjxũuṭn in table 25) <kõɪkiɪsjxuḍd, the name of buffalo-track (kuḍd) leading to the mund toɪroɪr.

§10. Another frequent suffixal element is -fum; e.g. in kuɪroɪfum (21, Karadrvan) <kuɪroɪfuɪṭ, name of a mountain (tuɪṭ) near toɪroɪr; uɪrkũuɪɪfum (24, Idrkudrvan) <uɪrkũuɪɪfuɪm, a river (puɪm) near Mt. kuɪroɪ; puṭʃefum (24, Pachievan) <puṭʃoʃ, a mountain near toɪroɪr (cf. puṭʃofxũuṭn in §9); kergæɪrfum (25, Kerskedrvan) <kergæɪrfuɪm, a stream near the mund paʃtuɪr; aɪsojfum <aɪsojuɪr, the buffaloes of the tɨ belonging to the puɪrgoɪroɪʃ, is another name of poɪtuɪṇ (35, Patirsh; cf. aɪsojxũuṭn in §9); mupuɪfum (16, Mopuvan) <mupuɪf, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to [888] the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. pæɪ̃boʃ or pæɪ̃boɪʃfum, kæɪnodz or kæɪnodzfum; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familiar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits [114] of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is muɪn, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word puɪm, which is the only possibility, [192] means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.[9]

---

[83] [553] her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

[8] Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 619.

[9] In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used. The three meanings given for puɪm belong to three South Dravidian words which have quite distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix -fum derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda

831
192